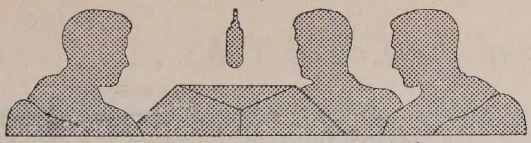
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



ROUND TABLE

BEHIND THE LABOR CRISIS

WOMEN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
JAN 23 1943

A Radio Discussion by

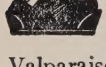
* LEO CHERNE
* RALEIGH STONE
* NORMAN THOMAS

465TH BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 253

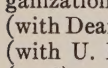
January 24, 1943

Around the Round Table . . . .

LEO M. CHERNE, executive director and editor-in-chief of the Research Institute of America, is a native of New York. He studied in the New York public schools and in New York University and received his law degree from the New York Law School. He has been particularly interested in the subject of industrial mobilization for war, and the Research Institute under his direction has turned its activities to assisting business to function as effectively as possible under the new government-business relationships. He is at the present time working on a study of the economics of post-war planning. Mr. Cherne is the author of *M-Day and What It Means to You* and *Your Business Goes to War* (1942).



RALEIGH W. STONE, professor of industrial relations in the School of Business of the University of Chicago, is a native of Indiana, receiving his undergraduate college training at Valparaiso University, before he came to the University of Chicago, where he was granted his Ph.D. degree. Besides the University of Chicago, Professor Stone has taught at Goucher College and the University of Iowa. Outside of teaching he has been active in many fields, among which are as director of research of the National Industrial Conference Board; as vice-chairman of the Chicago Regional Labor Board, 1934–35; as special consultant to the Industrial Code Authority of NRA; as a member of the Advisory Board on Unemployment Compensation in Illinois; and as a consultant to numerous other labor, industrial, and government organizations. He is the author of *Financing Education in Iowa* (1924) (with Dean William Russell) and *The Baking Industry under N.R.A.* (1936) (with U. B. Stone) and the editor of *Problems of Collective Bargaining* (1938).



NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for president in 1928, 1932, 1936, and 1942, started his career after graduation from Princeton University and the Union Theological Seminary as a Presbyterian minister in the Brick Church in New York City and later at the East Harlem Church. In 1918 Mr. Thomas founded the *World To-Morrow* and was the editor for three years. He has also served as secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, as an editor of the *Nation*, and as director of the League for Industrial Democracy. In politics he has also run as the Socialist candidate for mayor of New York City and for governor of New York. He is the author of many magazine articles and numerous books, among which are: *The Conscientious Objector in America* (1923) (revised and reprinted, 1927, under title of *Is Conscience a Crime?*); *As I See it* (1932) (with Paul Blanchard); *Human Exploitation* (1934); *War—No Profit, No Glory, No Need* (1935); *Socialism on the Defensive* (1938); *Keep America Out of War: A Program* (1940) (with B. D. Wolfe); and *We Have a Future* (1941).

BEHIND THE LABOR CRISIS

•

MR. CHERNE: In looking behind the labor crisis, we might well decide whether the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE is kidding us, whether there really is a labor crisis. How about it?

MR. THOMAS: Yes, there's a crisis, by no means fatal but likely to be intensified now and in the post-war period.

MR. STONE: I agree that there is a crisis, a rather serious one in fact, not in respect to current conditions, because I think that things are going pretty well as a current matter, but I believe that the people are genuinely afraid of what they think unionism is becoming as a part of our social and political organization.

MR. CHERNE: I'd have to check with both of you that there is a crisis. The crisis that I'm concerned about is within organized labor itself. What is the crisis that disturbs you, Thomas?

MR. THOMAS: Briefly, three points: First of all, the whole manpower muddle—most immediately conspicuous and dangerous in respect to the raising of food, agricultural rather than industrial labor. Second, the morale problem. You referred to that in your reference to the internal workings of the union, but morale, also, in the public relation to the unions. Third, the question whether free labor, organized on its own foundations, can survive at a time when we desperately need it as a protest against the drift to totalitarianism.

MR. STONE: I would question a bit your statement of what the basic issues in the crisis are, although I agree with part of what you

said. I would like to add one other point: Rising pay rolls and workers' demands for still more pay, it seems to me, are putting a pressure on price ceilings, and that is going to be a very serious matter in the future.

MR. CHERNE: I'd like to amplify what both of you have said and also indicate what I mean when I say that I'm concerned about a crisis within organized labor itself. Too many unions have refused to grow up and fulfil the function and responsibility which their new-found power demands. They must grow up so that they more intelligently not only satisfy the fuller needs of their own members but also win the respect and confidence that you, Stone, say doesn't exist among our entire society.

MR. STONE: In other words, you think that the problems primarily are those portending—threatening to come up—rather than existing problems?

MR. CHERNE: No. I think problems do exist today. The mere fact that absenteeism among the workers—and when I talk of "absenteeism" I mean people staying away from their benches and from their jobs voluntarily and not from sickness—exists in the quantity that it does exist is a reflection, to some extent, on the union leadership as well as management in those plants.

MR. THOMAS: I agree to that, but how would it do for the three of us to see where we do agree? For instance, how serious are these strikes that the public is probably justly worrying about? How serious is absenteeism and the wage-hour situation?

MR. CHERNE: On the question of strikes I doubt that there will be much basic difference among the three of us. I'm impressed by the official statistics that strikes have declined within the United

The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE. *Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.*

States, since the beginning of war, to about one-fifth of what they were.[1]

MR. STONE: Of course, those statistics are not clearly accepted by people as completely representing the situation. Those figures do not take account of the secondary effects of these strikes. When a strike gets started some place in our whole production system, it tends to have a cumulative effect and throws the whole system out of gear.

MR. THOMAS: The same thing is true about wrangling over contracts and over profits and over failure to deliver materials.

But let's get back. I want to emphasize what Cherne has said. Not only has the number of strikes declined in America while they have increased in patriotic England but there are many more strikes in England, where there is, theoretically, conscription of labor. In America we lose only about one-tenth as much time on strikes as we do on sickness and only about one-tenth of 1 per cent of total manpower hours. These are important, even if they're secondary things.[2]

MR. STONE: I think that that is true, but I suspect that that doesn't touch what people are generally concerned about.

MR. CHERNE: No, and I think you're right there, Stone. The problem isn't really a basic problem in war production itself. It isn't a problem of how much of our goods are not being made as a result of strike. The problem arises from the feeling that so many people have that the mere existence of any strike in time of war is immoral.

MR. STONE: That's right.

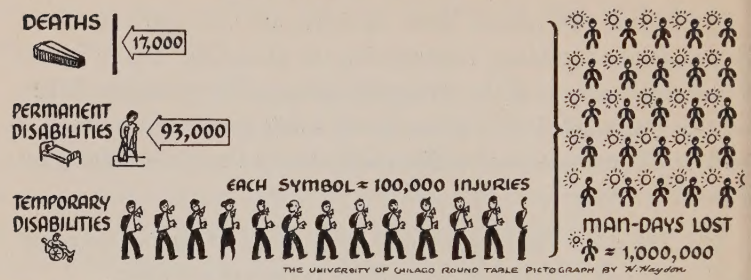
MR. CHERNE: I think we ought to examine that reason.

---

[1] See pictogram on pages 14–15 for history of strikes, number of strikes, number of workers involved, and man-days idle.

[2] See pictogram on page 4 for statistics on time lost due to industrial injuries and compare with time lost due to strikes as seen on pages 14–15.

INDUSTRIAL INJURIES IN UNITED STATES IN 1940*



* *Economic Almanac, 1941–42.*

MR. STONE: The question is: Are any strikes justified at all? I think that that's the way the public puts it.

MR. THOMAS: It would be awfully serious to give up the right to strike. It's labor's last resort, and there are circumstances where an apathetic or uninformed government or public can only be aroused, even in wartime, by a strike. The point is that labor has already renounced, voluntarily, the right to strike. Won't we all agree that it would take a very serious emergency to justify a strike?

MR. STONE: I think that that's true. There's only one emergency that I would agree upon that would justify any strike, and that is this: If the government moves too slowly—and it is a cumbersome bit of machinery—then people might be justified in striking in order to force government attention over a grievance matter or anything else of importance.

MR. CHERNE: I think that we're glossing over too fast the fact that while there is agreement in the national headquarters of both national unions and the government that there must be no strikes in war, I think that we're too ready to accept that as the fact. There have been some strikes. We've just come through a period of a fairly severe strike in the anthracite-coal industry. The public questions whether or not such strikes are justified.

MR. THOMAS: But let me ask you, Cherne, if you don't think that there would be more strikes, or, if not strikes, worse delays by slowing up, should the government adopt a law against strikes. Wouldn't that make things worse? Hasn't that been the tendency in even the totalitarian countries?

MR. CHERNE: I think that you're hitting at the fundamental answer to the strike problem. The strike problem is merely a symptom, a reflection of other things. There is no way, by legislation, by compulsion, by the most serious use of force (and Germany certainly tried it), to prevent the discontent of groups of people. They may be workers; they may be farmers; they may be industry leaders. That discontent, if it exists, is going to be reflected in performance and in action.

MR. STONE: As a matter of fact, though, don't you agree that it does help to prevent strikes to have a general agreement and a strong public opinion and coercive powers in the hands of government which it can use in extreme cases?

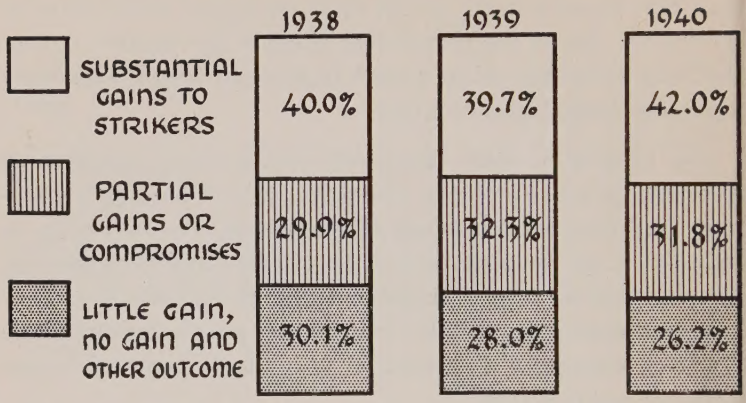
MR. CHERNE: Not only do I feel that it does help but I feel that the government today has all the power it needs in order to control the strike situation. If we run into a strike situation that is not treated and cured adequately and quickly, I would be inclined to look not necessarily to labor or primarily to industry; I would begin to wonder whether government is using the power that it now has as intelligently or effectively as it might.[3]

MR. STONE: I don't think that it is altogether, but, on the other hand, the facts show that things are going on fairly well.

I'd like to raise this question, if we can leave this matter of

[3] The government's relations to labor are handled through a number of agencies. The Department of Labor has certain mediatory functions in labor disputes, and the other possible facets of a labor policy are found in scattered organizations such as the War Labor Board, the National (Railway) Mediation Board, the National Labor Relations Board, the War Production Board, the War Manpower Commission, and the labor relations setups of the War and Navy departments.

RESULTS OF STRIKES*



* Bureau of Labor Statistics.

strikes. I think we're in general agreement that they shouldn't occur, that we probably now have about all the power that we need to regulate them, that we shouldn't try to exercise very much more force. But there's a more important problem that you men have hinted at . . . .

MR. THOMAS: May I interrupt before you get to the more important problem?

I think that the public would be better off, or all of us Americans, in thinking about strikes if we looked for the kind of strike that we most condemn. I think probably we'll agree that the worst strike is the jurisdictional strike—that is, the strike that results from the quarrel of rival unions to organize the same men.[4]

MR. CHERNE: For which there is little justification in peacetime and no justification in wartime.

MR. THOMAS: In other words, instead of saying, "Down with all strikes," ought we not to look at what lies behind and try to re-

[4] See pictogram on page 8 on reasons for strikes during the year 1940, the latest year for which there are official figures, 1939, and 1938.

move it? Excuse me. Now, let's get on with your important point, Stone.

MR. STONE: The jurisdictional strike arises, however, because it has been the standard policy in American trade-unions to have exclusive jurisdiction. If you try to abolish that kind of strike altogether, I just want to call your attention to the fact that you would be saying that the unions have to change their fundamental organizational structure.

MR. CHERNE: I think, Stone, you're misinterpreting a very basic economic fact. It's the fundamental characteristic of our entire economy that both industry and labor attempt to strike out for markets and, when they find those markets, to seal them. In other words, the normal tendency in our society is toward monopoly. That's true not only in labor, not only in industry, but sometimes true also in government. I agree with you that every possible effort must be applied to prevent monopoly and some of the worst diseases of monopoly, which is the absence of democracy.

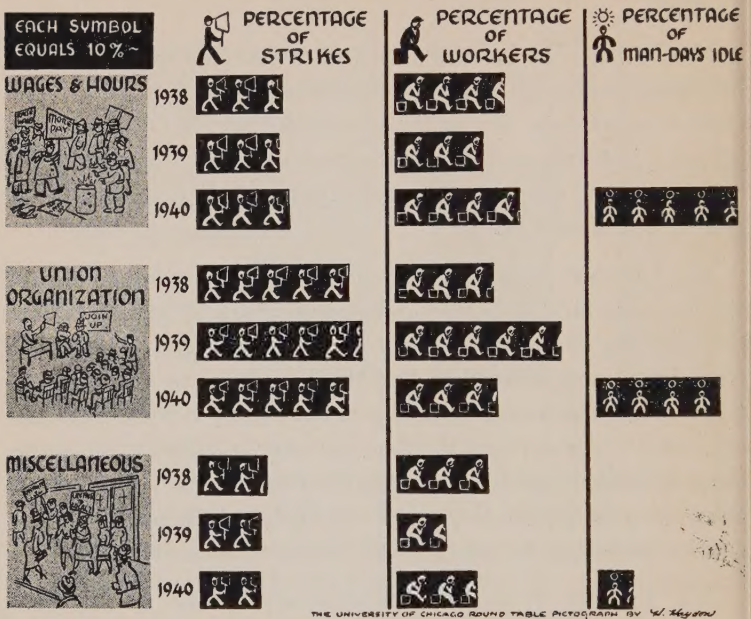
MR. THOMAS: If by that you're attacking what is called the "closed shop," that is to say, where you have to belong to the union in order to work, that depends. If belonging to the union means doing your duty as a citizen, and if the union itself is open to all, regardless of race or color, there is a case for it. I don't think, though, that people are striking for that now. The situation is pretty well covered by the "maintenance-of-membership" clause.[5] I suspect, then, that wages and hours really loom larger.

MR. STONE: I want to say one thing: I don't think that there is any case for a closed shop that is justifiable. The closed shop is an excuse for protecting the union, and I think that the unions have all the protection that they need there.

MR. CHERNE: I don't think we can afford, as a matter of pure time, to get into the question of the closed shop, particularly at a

[5] See page 24 for explanation of "maintenance of membership."

WHY WORKERS WENT ON STRIKE*



* Bureau of Labor Statistics.

time when the closed shop is not the issue, and hasn't been the issue for many months, behind any of the strikes that have attracted national attention.

I think that we must get into the problem that you were approaching, and that's the problem of people's staying away from their jobs—not as a result of union pressure, not as a result of organized action, but just because of disinterest or any one of another dozen reasons.

MR. STONE: I think that that is the most serious current problem that we have, and it's becoming wider and wider according to the information I get from employers and also from unions.

MR. CHERNE: It's estimated in some plants that as high as 15 per cent of the total week is spent outside the plant in absenteeism.

MR. STONE: Which is a serious drain on manpower and very disorganizing to production.

MR. THOMAS: Agreed; but here, again, you can't cure it by a law or by an army of snoopers. I'd suggest that it's a problem of morale in the union and in the shop. It's a function of management; it's a function of government in relation to conditions of housing and various irritations; it's a function of making the people feel that something matters. They can't get things any longer, so they've got to have a substitute for the things they can't get.

MR. STONE: But, Thomas, don't you see any place whatsoever for some kind of a work-or-fight order on the part of government?

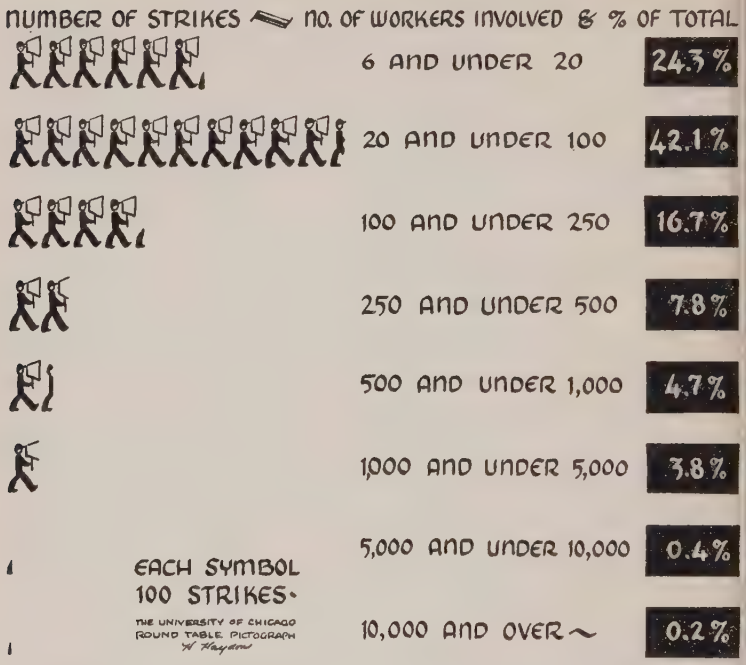
MR. CHERNE: I'm afraid that a work-or-fight order is the last possible resort to be used against absenteeism. Perhaps it would be effective against other ailments in our industrial life but not against absenteeism, because absenteeism results from one thing: it results from the disinterest of the worker in his job or in his plant or in the war. If you compel him to stay at the job, he's just going to sit at his bench and dawdle.

I think that an effective criticism, and perhaps the most effective criticism, which can be leveled against both unions and management is that neither one in many of the war plants has made any intelligent attempt, and certainly has achieved no success, in enlisting the enthusiasm of the worker for the job that is today at hand.

MR. STONE: That is true, but there are times when, after all, pushing people around sometimes has an effect. I'd call your attention to the fact that the great liberal, Woodrow Wilson, in World War I did use this work-or-fight order under extreme circumstances.

MR. CHERNE: And, as you will also recall, Stone, he didn't use the work-or-fight order in order to cure the disease of absenteeism which began to show its head in the World War. He use the work-or-fight order as a means of compelling workers in certain plants to get back into the plants.

WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES BEGINNING IN 1940*



* Bureau of Labor Statistics.

MR. STONE: That's right.

MR. THOMAS: May I say this: that the proportion you use a work-or-fight order, or have to use it, is the proportion in which this war is lost as a democratic war or a people's war.

I think that one question raised by absenteeism is the question of wages. You can make so much in the few hours that you don't need to work too long to buy the few goods available. That's why I say you need a new inducement.

MR. CHERNE: You're raising the one criticism that has probably come more frequently in the mail to the University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE than any other, and that is the criticism that some men are apparently making a dollar or two or three or five dollars an hour, while those who write in complain that their sons or their brothers are serving in uniform for fifty dollars a month.

I think that that criticism, in many respects, is unjust; that the criticism is a result of a very deep misunderstanding of the nature of the difference between army and civilian life which we ought to examine.

MR. STONE: There is a very important problem that is associated with what people consider to be the forty-hour-a-week problem. I myself think that the problem is not so much the forty-hour-a-week; it's essentially a wage problem. In this forty-hour basic week, with time and a half for overtime, as hours of work increase and as the fuller use of manpower is attained, pay rolls are inevitably raised, which leads to an inflationary condition. Wages aren't the only cause of rising prices and inflation, but they are a very important factor, and I think that we are in a dangerous situation there.

MR. CHERNE: I'm sure that you realize that you're not answering the statement that is very frequently made—that this so-called "forty-hour-week law" does two things: first of all, it prevents workers from working beyond forty hours a week; and, secondly, it places a penalty on war industry by preventing it from hiring workers with overtime for much more than forty hours a week.

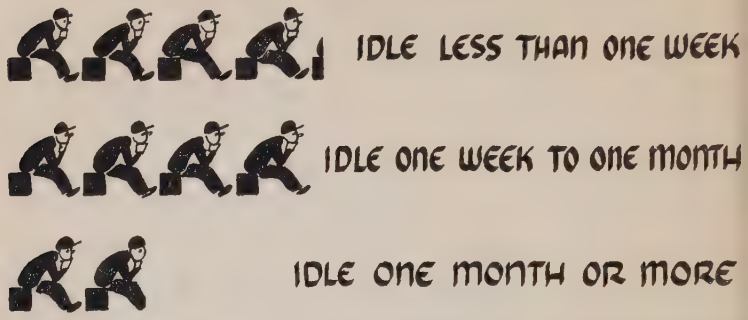
MR. STONE: No. That wasn't my point.

MR. CHERNE: I said that it wasn't your point, but that is the criticism.

MR. STONE: The law does not prohibit people from working more than forty hours a week.

MR. CHERNE: Nor, as a matter of fact, does it impede war production, because the war production plants are being reimbursed by the government for their costs, whatever they may be, with time and a half for overtime.

DURATION OF STRIKES IN 1940*


IDLE LESS THAN ONE WEEK
IDLE ONE WEEK TO ONE MONTH
IDLE ONE MONTH OR MORE
EACH SYMBOL = 10% OF WORKERS
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE PICTOGRAPH - Hayden

* Bureau of Labor Statistics.

MR. STONE: It does tend to impede civilian production, though, which is also important.

MR. CHERNE: That is perfectly true.

MR. THOMAS: But actually, as I see the statistics, we now have the forty-eight-hour week in industry; we've got a little less than a forty-dollar-a-week average for manufacturing industry, and that's not a very high wage. We've got seven and a half million people still under forty cents an hour. These things do matter.

I think that even inflation is far better dealt with by taxation and by proper price controls than by arbitrary wage freezing. By the way, we've got wage freezing and we're still getting inflation. How do you explain that?

MR. CHERNE: We haven't got that wage freezing.

MR. THOMAS: Well, pretty close to it.

MR. CHERNE: We have wage stabilization.

MR. THOMAS: I'd like to argue that.

MR. CHERNE: The history of other countries has always shown that a wage stabilization program is a deterrent but that it is never an effective, complete inhibition.

MR. STONE: No, but we ought to do as much as we can about it for the time being.

MR. CHERNE: I agree with you, but let's agree that we are not going to perform miracles with wage stabilization at a time when the cost of living is increasing.

MR. STONE: We shouldn't, however, assume that we can pass this buck to other departments of government which have difficult-enough problems on taxation and everything else.

MR. CHERNE: I'd like to make a sharp break at this point in our discussion. We're in a pretty fundamental agreement on this one proposition—that these factors upon which so much attention has been focused are actually not the factors which seem to be behind the labor crisis. The three of us have indicated that we have our own "pet" reasons for believing that there is a labor crisis. Those are not strikes and not absenteeism and not this business of wages and hours.

I'd like to throw it back to you, Stone, and have you amplify on the long-range labor crisis that you see in this war period and, beyond that, to the post-war period.

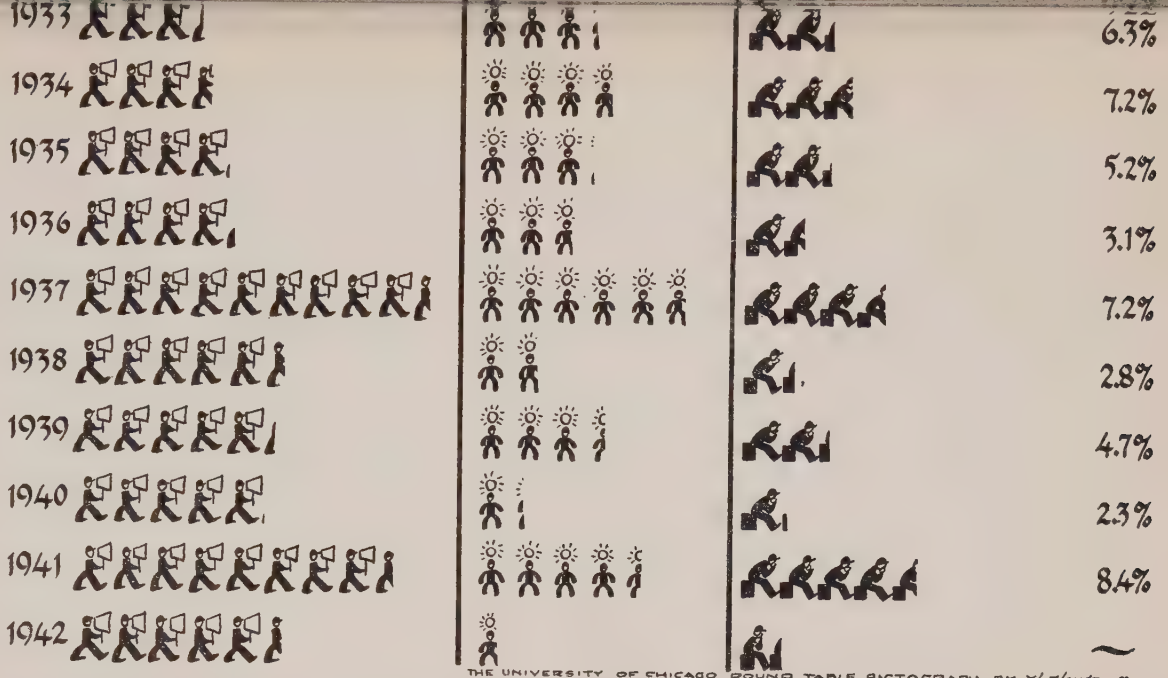
MR. STONE: Of course, the problem of inflation that I mentioned is both a current thing and a post-war matter. But I think that down below this public discontent and dissatisfaction is a fear on the part of people generally that unions are coming to occupy far too strong a position in our total social order and that they are being given rights and privileges and a position of power and authority which is not commensurate with the maintenance of a democratic society.

I think that when people say unions should be cooperative, they're asking more than unions can deliver on a national scale. So that people are afraid of the autocratic power and leadership in unions and also afraid of the full implications of what the union development seems to portend.

MR. THOMAS: I'd like to take you up on that. I have criticized

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN THE UNITED STATES*

	NUMBER OF STRIKES ≈ 500	MAN-DAYS IDLE ≈ 5,000,000	NO. of WORKERS & % of ALL WORKERS ≈ 500,000
1890		no report	4.2%
1900		no report	4.9%
1914		no report	no report no Report
1917		no report	6.3%
1918		no report	6.2%
1919		no report	20.8%
1920		no report	7.2%
1921		no report	6.4%
1925		no report	2.0%
1930			(8%



* Bureau of Labor Statistics. The figures for 1942 are for the first ten months (*Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1942). During this ten-month period there was an average of 36,621,000 men employed per month in industry (in a comparable period in 1937 there was a monthly average of 30,545,000).

publicly a lack of statesmanship in unions and their failure to develop a bill of rights for their own members and for workers, comparable even to the bill of rights in the state. I feel badly about that because I think unions themselves are absolutely essential. I know of no social organization since the Industrial Revolution which in the Scandinavian countries, in England, in Australia, in New Zealand, yes, and in America, has accomplished so much for so many, in and out of their own ranks, with so little violence.

It isn't the only organization. We also need consumers' and farmers' organizations, but it's an essential organization against the rise of a totalitarian state. That's why I care about its internal composition.

MR. CHERNE: One portion of what you say, Thomas, impresses me because I've been interested in the fact that every rise of totalitarianism was either preceded by or concurrent with the need to wipe out independent labor organization.

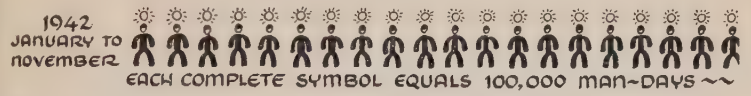
If independent labor organization were consistent with totalitarianism, then I would be a little worried that Stone has more in his point than seems to me to be true. If, on the other hand, independent labor organization were so great a deterrent to the rise of totalitarianism that it must be wiped out if totalitarianism is to succeed, then I would be inclined to have independent labor organization be, first of all, independent; second, democratic; third, useful; fourth, adult.

MR. STONE: You people have your own ways of interpreting history, and we haven't got time here to straighten it out; but some time or other I'll take that up in more detail with you, Thomas, as to how we interpret history.

MR. THOMAS: I'd love to hire Madison Square Garden on that. I think that it's an important question.

But may I bring out a matter? It seems to me, contrary to what I think most of my fellow-citizens offhand believe, that what's actually happening is not that the unions as independent organiza-

MAN-DAYS LOST ON STRIKES AFFECTING WAR WORK*



* Office of War Information.

tions are controlling government but that the government by paying a fairly high price now and then is gradually reducing unions to a kind of American labor front, really controlled by the government. That's bad for the independence, bad for the democracy of the members, and bad for the drift to totalitarianism.

MR. STONE: Precisely what do you mean by a "labor front"?

MR. THOMAS: Just that! I mean that, instead of the unions' thinking out policies and then talking them over with the government, the unions more or less go as suppliants to government or take what government gives them. The unions are more inclined, I think, to look to Washington than they are to what they can do as upstanding American citizens with a conscious responsibility for contributing themselves.

MR. STONE: Let's just see what that means. Are you saying that the government isn't working with the unions? Just using them? Is that what you're saying?

MR. THOMAS: I am saying (I wish I had time to develop it; it's an interesting historical thing) that Roosevelt has succeeded, without the violence of Hitler, in reducing the independent American labor movement more and more closely to a kind of movement dependent upon the government. It hasn't happened yet. Labor's protesting, for instance, the consciption of labor, which under American conditions would create a terrible morale and be unenforcible. Labor's doing a lot of good things yet, but I fear the drift toward a labor front.

MR. STONE: Are you saying that organized labor doesn't present a powerful lobby in Congress and exert tremendous influence on Congress and the President?

MR. THOMAS: It does, but it's subordinate on the whole to the wishes of the President. Its lobby is too often unintelligent even from the real interest of labor itself. Part of that is due to the lack of democracy of which Cherne has complained and part of it's due to the exclusion of Negroes; and right now the government's backed up some unions by manpower czar McNutt's refusal to go on with the hearing of the case of the colored firemen, against whom discrimination is so great.

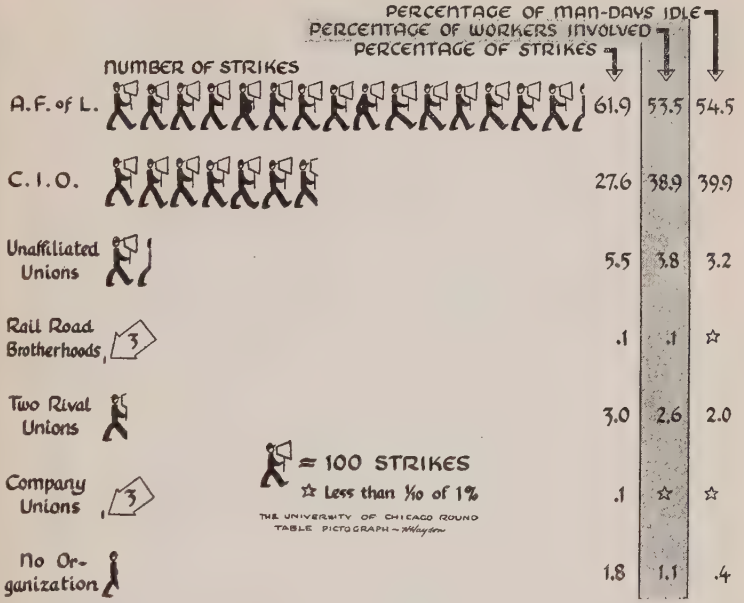
MR. CHERNE: I'm wondering, Thomas, whether you're not misinterpreting some facts that are undeniably true.

I think that the three of us recognize a certain trend, a certain fact that has become more prominent within the last few years; but I wonder whether that fact is a result of the activity or inactivity of government or is itself the result of the fact that the unions, with their growing power (which the government has assisted), have not learned how to live up to the full scope and responsibility of that power. Therefore, as children whose minds have not grown but whose bodies have grown, they continue to lean on a parent.

In other words, if their own independence were to grow, if their own democratic procedures were to become mature, if their own responsibility and responsiveness to the needs of their own members—and those needs are not merely asking for a wage increase each time out of a box (that is not constructive labor unionization, particularly in a war period)—if these things were to be true, then I think that the labor unions would not rest on the government, nor would there be the danger that the labor unions would become either a labor front for the government or an industry front for industry.

MR. STONE: It seems to me that you've two points there. One of them is that the unions are not acting in a statesman-like man-

LABOR ORGANIZATION AFFILIATIONS STRIKES ENDING IN 1940*



* Bureau of Labor Statistics.

ner. They're not using their power and responsibility in an effective way, even for their own good.

MR. CHERNE: I'm disturbed, Stone, that there isn't one segment of our economic population that has distinguished itself within the last generation by acting in a statesman-like way. I'm disturbed by the fact that there is not one segment of our population—and that goes for the consumer, that goes for industry, that goes for labor unions, that goes, in many ways, for the government itself—that has risen to the needs and emergencies of this period and articulated intelligent, constructive, progressive, economic leadership.

MR. STONE: That's all right. You have another point which is

this: that you think, along with Thomas, that unions ought to be exerting far greater power than they are now in the total economic and political affairs of the nation?

MR. CHERNE: I think that you're too quick to be content with the fact that a handful of unions have put a black cloth over the entire movement by retaining racketeers. I think that we ought to clean them out as the first activity.

MR. STONE: I have said nothing about racketeers. Where do you jump to any such conclusion there?

MR. CHERNE: It seems to me that you're opposing any activity within union organization that will, first of all, make them more democratic; second of all, make them more responsive to their members; and, third of all, make them more intelligent in their responsibility to society.

MR. STONE: No. I have no criticism of that. I said that that was all right as far as it goes. But you are also saying that they ought to exert a tremendously bigger role in the total social and political economic order.

MR. THOMAS: Stone, I rather quarrel with your continual use of the word "greater" and "more." I think that both Cherne and I mean in some respects "more," but even more than that we mean "wiser," more intelligent power.

I'd agree with a lot that Cherne said about what needs to be done in unions; I've been saying it for years. But there is now a particular situation which makes the problem more imperative. You see, the general manpower muddle; the government's failure in many aspects in the draft; the government's lack of ability to to give us arithmetic for the size of the Army in relation to food supplies, lend-lease materials, transportation, and so on; the acute Negro-white tensions—all these put a responsibility immediately upon men like McNutt, upon the President, of course, and upon Congress. You can't shift it all, Cherne, over to the unions.

MR. CHERNE: No, nor am I doing it.

MR. STONE: You put a responsibility back on people to have intelligent opinions about such matters.

MR. CHERNE: Stone, you've mentioned two or three times in the course of this discussion of the labor crisis the problem of inflation. That problem hasn't been a particularly complicated or obscure one. There are few people in the United States who haven't known of the existence of that problem.

Wage stabilization is one of the inevitables, one of the compulsives of a war economy. I think that the labor-union movement is not living up to its responsibility if it persists in a refusal to accept wage stabilization, which it did at one stage in our development of this war economy.

MR. STONE: That's right.

MR. CHERNE: I think, in other words, that labor unions must actually face some of these economic problems as a unit, seeking the most progressive, most intelligent, most useful solution to the problems that face an entire nation.

MR. STONE: If they were to do what you suggest, it would make them much more constructive forces in our total social order. Anything they do of a negative character would be offset by these constructive lines of action. But I don't think that touches, among other things, the public concern over the growing role and ultimate power and significance that unions seem to have in our present social and economic order.

MR. THOMAS: Yes, but the public has some responsibility for keeping its own house in order. Farmers can see the faults of labor; labor, the faults of farmers; both, the faults of businessmen and bankers. I come back: I think that the government now has every bit of power it needs (if anything, a little more). To extend that power is a cover, too often, for misuse of the power it has. I don't want added to what I call "wage freezing," and you call "wage stabilization," conscription of labor. I want to keep free unions now and for the future.

MR. STONE: Of course, neither of us has advocated, Thomas, that we should have conscription of labor.

MR. THOMAS: I'm glad you said it. I wanted you at least to come out with that before we're through.

MR. CHERNE: Having agreed on that last point, and despite our disagreement these last few minutes, I think that it should be emphasized in concluding this discussion that we have agreed on a number of fundamental facts behind the labor crisis.

We've agreed that strikes must, in wartime, be limited to the gravest situations and only as the last resort in order to focus the attention of government on the controversy. We've agreed that strikes and wages and hours do not as yet represent a significant impediment to the quantity of war production. We're all concerned with the reflection of the inadequate morale as revealed by absenteeism.

We didn't agree as to the most beneficial functions of unions themselves in our economy. The place of unions in our permanent social and economic life might well be the topic for another University of Chicago ROUND TABLE broadcast.

The ROUND TABLE, *oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company. The supplementary information in this transcript has been developed by staff research and is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the* ROUND TABLE *speakers.*

SELECTED TERMS USED IN DISCUSSIONS OF LABOR*

Arbitration. A means of settling disputes by accepting the verdict of one or more impartial persons who have been chosen and authorized to decide a case. Frequently each party to the controversy selects one arbitrator, and these two select a third. Usually the disputing parties agree in advance that the findings of the arbitrator or arbitrators shall be final and binding on both parties to the dispute.

Bargaining for Members Only. The union is recognized as the bargaining agent for its own members only.

Checkoff. A procedure by which a company deducts union dues from employees' wages by agreement with the union and turns over the amount so deducted to the union.

Closed Shop. Only union members can be hired, and workers must remain union members to retain employment.

Collective Bargaining. A method of employer-employee dealing under which questions of wages and working conditions are settled by negotiations between representatives of management and representatives of labor organizations.

Conciliation. A procedure commonly used in labor disputes whereby a disinterested person, in the capacity of mediator, tries to suggest a basis on which a controversy may be settled. The conciliator has no authority to enforce any settlement but merely acts as a friend of both parties to help in arriving at a voluntary basis for agreement.

Cost of Living. Aggregate expenditures during a given period of time for the necessities of life as well as for such comforts and luxuries as income may permit. Expressed either in dollars or as index numbers. (Indexes generally computed for wage-earners and salaried workers of low income.)

Cost-of-Living Wage Adjustment. A system of determining compensation under which regular wages are increased or decreased in direct ratio to changes in a cost-of-living index.

Exclusive Bargaining Shop. The union is recognized as the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees, whether union members or not.

Flexible Wage Plan. Any type of extra compensation or supplementary wage payments closely related to the activity of the company or to changes in the cost of living. Supplementary wage payments may be

---

* From *Economic Almanac, 1941–42*, and a recent Twentieth Century Fund survey.

based on the total volume of production or on the price of the product; or they may be geared to some form of profit-sharing or to a cost-of-living index. Flexible wage plans do not include individual and group bonus plans, premium and piece-rate wage systems, and other forms of wage incentives which are part of the regular earnings of workers. Flexible wage plans ordinarily make a clear distinction between the extra compensation and the regular wage, and, to impress the worker with this fact, the supplementary compensation is usually paid by separate check.

Grievances. Complaints by employees to the management regarding some feature of working conditions that is unsatisfactory. Many companies utilize an organized grievance procedure which prescribes methods for the presentation and settlement or appeal of grievances.

Independent Union. A labor organization that is not affiliated with an international labor union and is not connected with one of the large labor federations, such as the A.F. of L. or C.I.O.

Maintenance-of-Membership Shop. No one is forced to join a union, but all present or future members must remain in good standing as a condition of employment.

Man-Hours, Total. The sum of the hours worked by each employee. Equivalent to average number of employees multiplied by average weekly hours.

Mediation. See *Conciliation.*

Open Shop. A plant in which membership or nonmembership in a labor organization does not determine a person's eligibility for employment or retention on the pay roll.

Preferential Shop. Union members are given preference in hiring or layoff, or both.

Slow-Down (Strike). A form of labor pressure by which workers deliberately reduce their customary rate of production in order to enforce their demands.

Union Shop. An establishment in which all employees must be members of a union. The company may employ whom it chooses, but all accepted candidates must become union members within a specified time or lose their jobs.

More on This Topic

COHN, FANNIA M., *Workers' Education in War and Peace.* New York: Workers' Education Bureau, 1943. $0.15. *The educational approach to solution of labor problems.*

CUSHMAN, ROBERT E., *What's Happening to Our Constitution?* "Public Affairs Pamphlet," No. 70. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1942. $0.10. *Considers modernized methods of judicial interpretation in the field of labor.*

HARD, WILLIAM, "American Rights for Union Members," *Reader's Digest,* December, 1942. *Suggests that the states set up a six-point "Code of the Rights of Citizens in Labor Organizations."*

———, "The States Should Umpire the Picket Line," *Reader's Digest,* January, 1943. *An appeal to the states to act and avoid the need for federal regulation.*

"Labor Relations and the War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* November, 1942. *Twenty-eight articles on labor organization, wartime labor standards, national labor policy, and post-war labor problems.*

"Management Looks at the Labor Problem," *Business Week,* September 26, 1942. *A supplement reviewing the recent history of labor policy and labor organization and stating the issues and areas of conflict.*

SLICHTER, SUMNER H., "How Much Trade-Unionism as Usual?" *Atlantic Monthly,* January, 1943. *Says that trade-unions must abandon many peacetime demands.*

THOMAS, NORMAN, "How Democratic Are Labor Unions?" *Harper's,* May, 1942. *Suggests that some labor unions should adopt more democratic practices.*

See current issues of the *Monthly Labor Review* for latest statistical information on labor.

What Do *You* Think?

1. Many Americans think that there is a labor crisis, but what it is, how extensive it is, who is to blame, and what's to be done about it are areas with little agreement. Do you think that the participants are correct in saying there is a labor crisis? Why?

2. Do you think that labor unions have made good on their no-strike pledge? What is the significance and importance of the jurisdictional strikes? Should strikes be outlawed? Do you agree with the speakers that in extreme cases strikes are justified to draw attention to bad conditions?

3. What is the closed shop? Why does labor consider the closed shop a necessary and legitimate objective in wartime? Is the closed shop an acceptable objective in a democratic society? What is the attitude of the War Labor Board toward demands for the closed shop? What is the distinction between a closed shop and maintenance-of-membership policy?

4. Do you think that federal regulation of labor unions is desirable? Should Congress regulate unions by requiring public audit of books, supervised elections for officers, registration with the government, etc.?

5. What is the government's policy toward labor? How effective is the work of the War Labor Board? Is the War Labor Board an adequate agency for setting labor policy, or should Congress have the responsibility? Should the War Labor Board setup be revised in order to settle the large number of cases awaiting action?

6. What should be the powers and responsibilities of labor unions within the American social and political organization? Do you believe that independent labor organizations should have a voice in government policy and industry policy? What are the arguments for and against labor-management committees? What do you regard as the true function of unions?

TRANSCRIPT SUBSCRIPTIONS

ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION.....$2.00 SIX MONTHS'.....$1.00

FOR SINGLE COPIES OF THE BROADCASTS LISTED BELOW SEND TEN CENTS IN COIN TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. THIS WEEK'S AND ANY PAST FOUR BROADCASTS .... 25 CENTS.

LISTS

of 1938-40 Transcripts Still in Print Will Be Sent upon Request. Students and Teachers Will Find These Issues To Be Valuable Commentaries upon Events of the Period.

No.

1941

1156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
1161. *War Aims and Peace Aims*
1169. *War against the Middle Classes?*
1173. *Our Liberties*
1185. *New Frontiers in Education*
1186. *Anti-Semitism*
1189. *Showdown with Japan?*
1192. *The Philippines*
1193. *Little Business: What Now?*
1195. *Canada: Neighbor at War*
1198. *What Does Rationing Mean?*

1942

1199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
1201. *Censorship*
1203. *Are We Overconfident?*
1204. *Labor Policies in Wartime*
1207. *Propaganda: Good and Bad*
1208. *Civilian Defense*
1210. *Women, Work, and the War*
1211. *The American Temper*
1212. *India*
1214. *War Profits*
1215. *War and the Family*
1218. *Radio in Wartime*
1220. *Limiting Wartime Incomes*
1221. *Education for Freedom*
1222. *The United Nations*
1223. *China*
1224. *The Near East*
1225. *Congress Investigates*
1226. *Crisis in Shipping*
1227. *Must We Hate Our Enemies?*

No.

228. *War Comes to the Farm*
229. *Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now?*
230. *Political Reconstruction of the Post-war World*
231. *Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace*
232. *Challenge of the Four Freedoms*
233. *Health in Wartime*
234. *Wage Policy in Wartime*
235. *The Rubber Crisis*
236. *Farm Parity*
237. *Congress and the War*
238. *Your Taxes*
239. *The Rediscovery of America*
240. *The Press*
241. *Manpower*
242. *The New Congress*
243. *France*
244. *Crisis Administration*
245. *The Challenge to Local Government*
246. *After One Year of War—What Have We Learned?*
247. *Italy*
248. *Social Security: Challenge to Democracy*
249. *Woodrow Wilson: Prophet or Visionary*
250. *Things To Come: How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years*
251. *1943—Challenge to the Republican Party*
252. *Are We Well Informed?* January 17

Any Round Table Transcript May Be Purchased in Lots of 100 or More at Special Rates upon Request

CHANGE OF TIME!

The University of Chicago Round Table Is Now Broadcast

One Half-Hour Earlier:

2:00 P.M.	Eastern War Time
1:00 P.M.	Central War Time
12:00 Noon	Mountain War Time
11:00 A.M.	Pacific War Time

Over the National Broadcasting Company Network

I would like to receive the ROUND TABLE transcript regularly. Please enter my name on the subscription list—

☐ for six months at $1.00

☐ for one year at $2.00

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

☐ I am enclosing the correct amount

☐ Please send me a bill

These are the NBC network stations that carry the ROUND TABLE at the new time

2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lakeland, Fla	WLAK	1340	York, Pa.	WORK	1350
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240			

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
			Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500			

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY:

Principle versus Expediency

•

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

•

JANUARY 31, 1943

•

ERNEST C. COLWELL, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN, Department of History, University of Chicago

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, Department of History, Northwestern University

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

Peace and War—United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941, released by State Department, January 5, 1943. Washington: Government Printing Office.

WALLACE, HENRY A., "Post-war Policy," *Vital Speeches*, January 1, 1943.

WILLKIE, WENDELL L., "Accord Needed Now," *Vital Speeches*, December 15, 1942.

WINKLER, PAUL, "The Men behind Darlan," *Nation*, December 26, 1942.

WRIGHT, QUINCY, "Responsibilities of the United States in the Post-war World," *Free World*, January, 1943.

[PRINTED IN U·S·A]